/27 cont'd/

here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets, boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist. —Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Although today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples — the *hsien*[1] towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

[1] A *hsien* is a district — a subdivision of a province, roughly comparable to our county

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes,' with their fields on other slopes and on the valley floor below. In fact, in the whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one. Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark. 241 412

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make 241 412 463 563

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability.

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain.

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un.

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The District or County magistrate, whose Yamen was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7]

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There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home.

224

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time.

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It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese.

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Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house.

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 敘州府志

10: Graham E-5 (192?-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

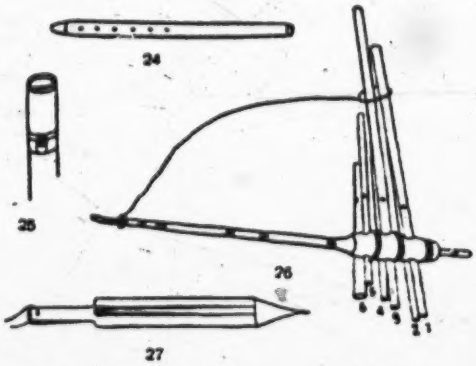
241 463 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His [114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs [562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau [533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical Instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages ●[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.

533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the [243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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M 232 [463] In every village several men are masters at the art of castration and are paid by the others to practice this occupation. /370/ I had an opportunity to watch the castration of a cock, which did not last longer than four minutes. The Meau opened the body cavity of the animal three fingers above the anus, pulled out the reproductive glands with two fingers which he stuck deep into the opening, tied them up, and then simply tore them off. Then, with needle and thread, he first sewed the musculature and then the outer skin, and the cock was immediately actively running about again and looking for food. The amazing thing was that during the entire operation he had remained completely still.

M 237 231 262 Taking blood from living animals is unknown to the Meau in Thailand. On the other hand, the blood that flows from the opened neck artery during slaughtering is collected and consumed as food.

A 231 What has been said about the animal husbandry of the Meau generally applies among the Akha. The sequence followed for the domestic animals described, according to their significance for the Meau, is the same for the Akha; nevertheless there are a few differences. Among the Akha, too, the raising of pigs comes first; the fodder for these animals (Ill. 44) is even prepared on special cooking places among them. On the other hand, during the night they, like the cattle, are not shut up in special pens, but stay under the dwellings, which stand on piles. During the day, they roam about freely (Ill. 46) and, together with the dogs, burrow in the heaps of refuse which are present beside every house. Among the Akha, no differently than among the Meau, dogs as well as pigs devour the feces of human beings with special likings.

A [342] [364]

A [262] [492] [272] The Akha raise cattle for meat, the Meau more rarely. Like the latter, they use the animals as pack animals in regions that permit it. Strangely enough, the Akha, too, drink no milk, though I did not find a corresponding taboo, as among the Meau. Nevertheless, the obvious presumption is that among them, too, it is a matter of a forgotten prohibition of cultic origin which has become a habit.

1 [see cat 116, P 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " P 332- "]

39: Bernatzik--568 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AES

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly
[465] paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as